578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned [554] warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

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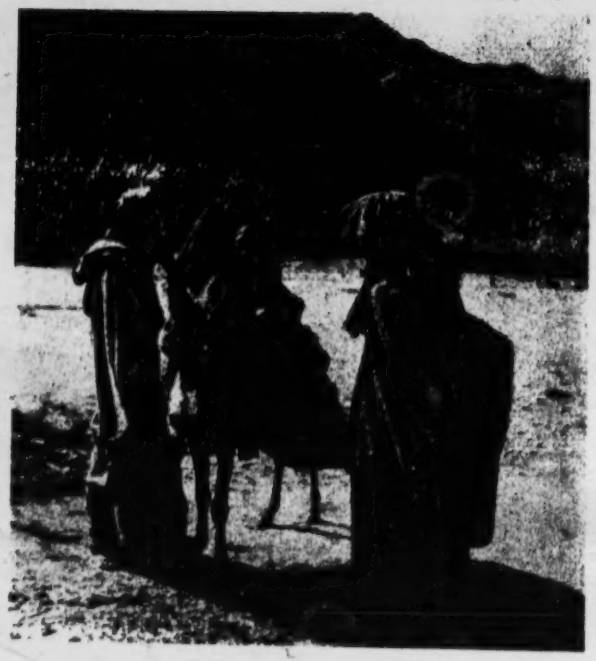
The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.



Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

1: Lhote--66a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to sett as slaves.

When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

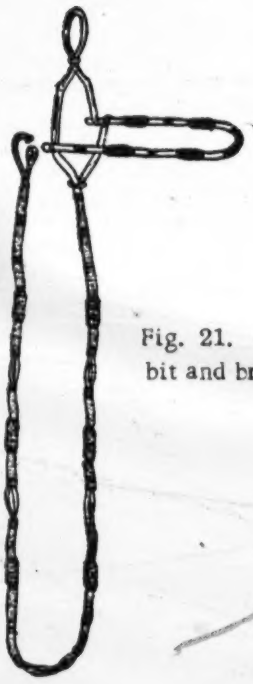


Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

The Ahaggar has famous salt mines in the region called Amadror which lies to the east of the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the salt which [492] abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

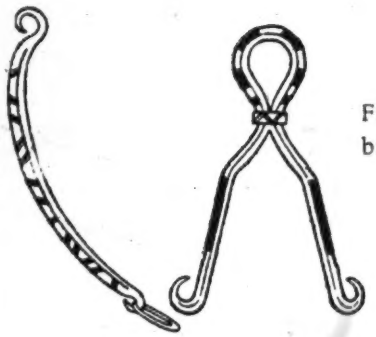


Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt deposit. The mine /219/ is open; [415] one need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

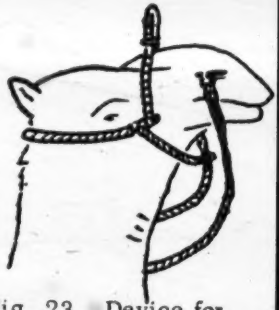


Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 484 caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182 to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
643 camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink
482 every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
492 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
● 492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the
[565] asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving; only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

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Chapter 3

Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

[252 The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
484] their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

[101] It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong culturally to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

182 233 At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is already of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such [492] that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is [361] why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

232 Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled, and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used. These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage, and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child, the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/ Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known. Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the [301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more [492] commonly used 414 articles -- saddlery articles, cavessons for [412] camels, highly ornamented padlocks with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique [531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms; 326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and 411 lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally [172] not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

● [492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[594] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
563 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

1: Lhote--166b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XVI

326

Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

174 in its remotest regions, the result of more intensive goat raising
487 and proof that pastures used to be more numerous than they are today.

492 There are very appreciable differences in the way Tuareg and
484 Arab caravaneers travel. The Arabs always push their camels in front of them; these camels march in a line freely, without any bridle or /head/ rope. The Tuareg, on the other hand, always advance in file, the camels attached one behind the other and guided by a man who takes the head of the convoy by holding one of the animals by the bridle, or else by riding it.

These different methods are imposed for two reasons, both connected with the structure of the terrain. The Arab Sahara is generally a flat country where it is easy to move about and where no natural obstacle opposes the animals' walking. In mountainous country, however, as in the Ahaggar, the narrowness of some trails, particularly going through certain passes, forces them to take precautions to control the camels' march, unless they want to see them crowd up on one another to the detriment of the baggage with which they are loaded. Moreover, pastureage also occurs under different conditions. In the northern Sahara, where the soil consists mainly of calcareous formations, vegetation is always diffuse, which forces the camels to move about a great deal, browsing from one tuft to another. Thus the Arabs have got in the habit of never putting their animals on a leash in order to let them gather tufts of vegetation which are within their reach, all the time they are moving.

In the Ahaggar, as we have had occasion to say, vegetation is, on the contrary, concentrated and sheltered in the valleys where water is hidden under the sandy alluvial deposits. Therefore there is no point in leaving any liberty to the camels; quite the opposite, they must not lose a minute on the trail but must reach

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihăggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amĕnokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great [599] that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemâren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 677 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

492 Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the [28] tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with red leather; 2) the tamzak, [531] shaped the same way, but much more luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood [322] or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. [171] In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

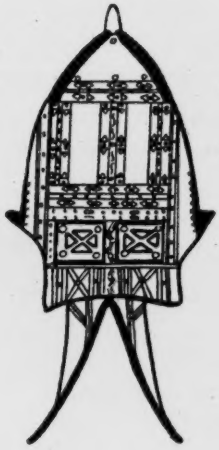

Fig. 54.. 1 2

The camel saddle called tamzack. Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in Aïr, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the 326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled 492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

adopted by all the Tuareg of the Ádrar des Ifóras, which the Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side. For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihăggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

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Chapter 2

War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
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2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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A Targui noble of the Ahaggar, beside his tent. (Photograph by L. C. Briggs.)

[Frontispiece]

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 235]
[Pp. 230-234 not processed]

291
133
492
231

Fig. 20. a, Bey ag Akhamouk, heir apparent (and now paramount chief) of the Ahaggar Tuareg, with one of the last horses of the central Sahara.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 241] Hoggar

291
231
492

a

291

b

Fig. 26. Tuareg of the Ahaggar. *a*, Camel Corps soldiers. *b*, A young noble of the Kel Rela Tribe. (Photographs: *a*, by A. J. Weber; *b*, by L. C. Briggs.)

551

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Eknissi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tamerouelt, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haïk, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" ⵜⴰⵡⵍⵉⵡⵍⴰ (from the verb "eouilaouel" ⵉⵡⵍⵉⵡⵍ, to swing). 854

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task. 857

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari (racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" ⵜⴰⴽⵓⴱⴰ (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/ [492 868]

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

Chapter VII

Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵍⴰⴷⵓⵏ or "tedlout" ⵜⴰⵜⵍⵓⵜ 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492 556 562]
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description
below.

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar'" ⵜⵉⵣⵔⵉ, and a single tent "ehan" ⵜⵉⵀⴰⵏ, plural "ehanan" ⵜⵉⵀⴰⵏⴰⵏ.

Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

Chapter XV

Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called "tarout" ⵜⴰⵔⵓⵜ. In the evening the Tuareg is

It is probably because of this custom that the Tuareg 182 291 shaves his mustache and he finds it strange that we wear them. 302 On the other hand, he wears a full beard.

Chapter XIX

The Woman's Saddle

I think it well to give below the following description of 492 the very unusual mehari saddle of Tuareg women.

I had the opportunity to see one, of which I was able to get a sketch (see the accompanying illustration). /40/

It seems that many other saddles are handsomer, with painted wood, and they say that the beautiful Dassine suffered considerable distress when she learned that a beautiful saddle belonging to her had been plundered by one of the insurrectionists at the beginning of our establishment in the /Saharah? Oases.

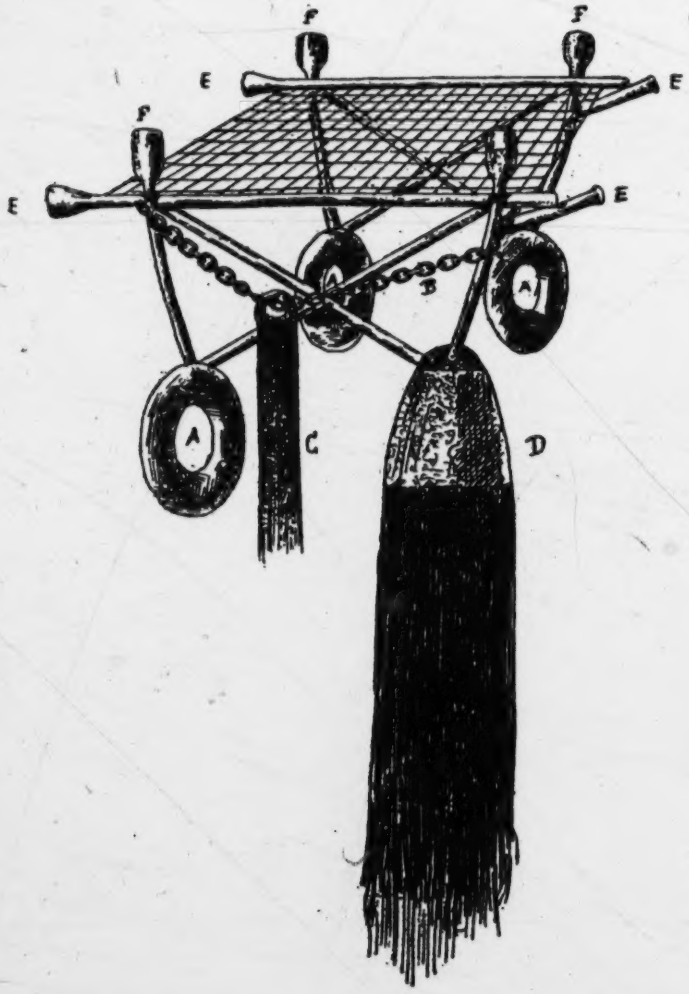
The woman's saddle, which somewhat resembles a sedan chair, is placed over the hump of the mehari without touching it. It consists of the following essential parts: a rectangular seat of netted strands, supported by four uprights to which are fastened four cushions with holes in the center which rest, two on each side, on the flanks of the mehari. These cushions A are called "afelledoud" ⵄⵄ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵃ , plural "ifelledad" ⵄⵄ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵃ .

The uprights are fastened to each other by two transverse bars on each side.

A chain of iron links B called "imetredj" ⵉⵎⵜⵔⵉⵊ goes around the saddle and passes through the ring of the girth C, which is called "ahif"

Onto the upright with the rear cushion, which is hidden in the picture, is attached an embroidered ornament which has hanging from it strands of wool or colored leather. This ornament D is called "tegarsim"

4: Benhazera--35a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



Tuareg Woman's Saddle (Drawn by Corporal Malroux) [41]

Extending the seat there are four small bars, E, one at each corner. Finally, there are four other small perpendicular bars F on the seat. 492

In order to mount, with the camel kneeling, the woman takes the bridle in her hands and sits on the bare withers of the camel (in the place where the man's saddle rests) and, in this position, her legs on the neck of the mehari, she makes it get up. When the animal is standing, the woman places both hands on the two small front bars, E, of the saddle, and, with a slight adjustment, she sits in the saddle, her legs hanging on the withers of the camel.

The top of the saddle is generally covered with a /42/ haïk which is fastened to the four perpendicular bars F, so that the woman is sitting in a sort of hammock.

This saddle is called "tekhaouit" ⵜⵅⴰⵡⵉⵜ . The de luxe saddle, more decorated, is called "araguen" ⵉⵖⴰⴷ .

Chapter XX

Education

One cannot say that the knowledge of reading and writing 212
"tifinagh, " or symbols for the Tamashek language, is a proof of education, for this knowledge does not have any practical use.

The Tuareg very seldom use the symbols for their language, and use them largely for little inscriptions of no great significance (of a kind which we will see later) on boulders or on the inside of arm bracelets.

When there are letters to be written, they have them written in Arabic, for they fear, with reason, being misunderstood if they should write them in "tifinagh." In fact,

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the Tidikelt with it. 237 283 262 439

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones. 233 492 [312]

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold. 233 343

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari. 233 [435]

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and advice for this purpose. 137 233 [312 648]

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture without herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes. 233

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is 192 233

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

492
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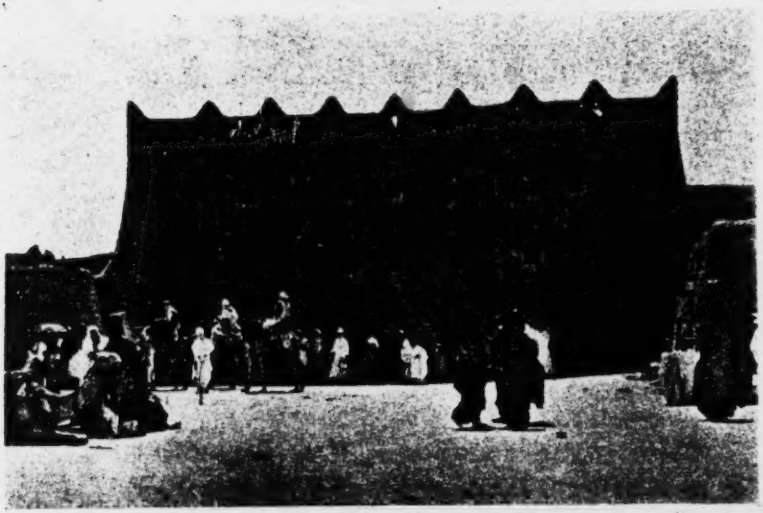

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 565 631 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 643 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ouui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar

is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

317 /64 cont./ waterless country would inspire legends; stories
439 are told of genii which haunt the salt mines all night long, and this invisible and baneful world may be heard thumping the ground and ceaselessly breaking the salt blocks with diabolical energy. When day returns, the work site seems to be in the same state as on the evening before, and nothing seems to have happened during the night, ...and yet, "They were there." Some Tuareg claim to have seen horse tracks stamped in the ground and to have ascertained the existence of equipment for extracting salt predating those now in use -- which would tend to prove the antiquity of this mining work.

The desert contains other saltworks which supply the Sudan; to the west, Idjil and above all Taoudéni are the best known; to the east are the mines of Bilma and the Acedjerad, but among the latter the Amadror salt is the most esteemed at the markets of the savanna.

Toward the month of April or May, the Tuareg send their /65/ Negro domestics to extract the salt. Caravans of about a hundred camels advance by small stages toward the salt mines, following well-beaten tracks which lead by the wells of Dehine and In-Tarass (the latter is 40 kilometers from the salt).

The work is done as rapidly as possible, for the sojourn in those parts has nothing pleasant about it because of the heat, the lack of water and wood, and the nocturnal presence of the Kel es Souf (genii). The method of extraction is clearly disorderly, but what does it matter, there is so much salt!
●[492] The blocks are hewn with a kind of ax; two blocks, after having been tied with a chebka (coarse net), make a load for a camel. The small pieces are put in sacks (made from palm fibers) in 50-kilogram loads. In ten days, two men can load 50 camels, or about three metric tons of salt.

Then comes the return to the camps in the Ahaggar. Until time to be sent to the Sudan, the salt is stored near the tents or the villages. The custom is for the Negro returning

233 /84 cont./ Ewe's milk is mixed with goat's milk; the hides are also used in all sorts of leatherwork. Mutton is considered [262] choice meat and is the preference for serving to an important guest.

The ox is imported from the Sudan; it is a zebu with the characteristic hump. It is used for drawing water in the agricultural centers. However, it can live in freedom in the wadis of the Ahaggar. The amenokal owns a herd which has gone wild: when he wants a beast, he must have it shot. The oxen eat the tahlis which grow abundantly on the rocky shelves of the wadis; they drink from the numerous gueltas. This ox is a sturdy animal capable of going from the Tamesna region to the Ahaggar across desolate regs.

Milk production is practically negligible, since there are at most 300 bovids /sic/ in the Ahaggar.

The hide is used to make the large dellous /skin sacks/ for drawing water and the bottas for keeping butter in.

The bull is called: "essou" (plural: "issouan"); the cow: "tessout" (plural: "tissita").

The donkey ("eɪed"; plural: "ieɪdan") is, perhaps, the animal best adapted to the Ahaggar. The Tuareg say: "It eats everything, green or dry." It is of average size, with a rather light coat and a large darker cross on the back. The donkey [492] is used for camp chores; it goes to fetch water and wood. It carries nearly the whole load when moving; it is the mount of the women, children, and Negroes. Some travelers claim to have seen onagers in the Ahaggar; these were actually donkeys reverted to the wild state: the Tuareg, not being able to keep them near their camps because of the paucity of pastures, /85/ let them run free. Thus it is that herds of donkeys are seen in silhouette on the mountains or fleeing in the wadis as men approach. The donkeys drink at the permanent water points, and their habitual approaches to them are marked by narrow, well-trodden paths.

261 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates; transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

415 /94 cont. / leather, and sometimes they are even embellished
531 with motifs on cloth, accentuated with needlework in silk; others are made of natural leather, adorned with frayed leather thongs, for the main principle of decoration for everything carried on a camel's back seems to be to lengthen the lines in order to make them harmonize with the silhouette of this amazing animal. The decorative motifs are many but always linear; the circle, as well as the arc, is used, but the straight line dominates; there are no arabesques, no complicated curves; triangles, squares, rectangles, even trapeziums and diamond shapes are used. Red is the chief color for leather, but a wide range of other colors, artistically used, makes possible some pleasing effects; delicate greens characterize the work coming from the Sudan, pure whites are set in blacks, dark greens, and browns, different tones of yellow cover large surfaces. Then, slight grooves in the dyed leather produce interesting effects.

[492] /95/ The sacks are secured on the animals by numerous cords. These are plaited with goat's hair. Making all these fittings takes unimaginable time and patience. Such a task cannot be thought of except in relation to a nomadic tribe.

An interesting study could be made on Tuareg decoration, comparing it to that of certain Indian tribes of America; one thinks in this connection of the hypotheses advanced by Commandant Cauvet in Les Berbères en Amérique /Berbers In America/.

352 Here is a list of the various objects to be found in a Tuareg tent, undoubtedly an incomplete list, for the most familiar objects are the easiest to forget.

The woman, mistress of the hearth, owns her personal effects. The wardrobe bag, a large rectangle 80 by 60 centimeters at the top of which is an opening 30 centimeters high by 50 centimeters wide, is called "agherredj"; clothes are kept in it. Some of these agherredj are magnificent works of art.

352 /95 cont./ The other sacks belonging to the women all have the same shape. The "guerfa" is smaller than the agherredj; the "tarerrat" plaited in goat's hair is not seen as often.

The "adhaboun" consist of a whole series of small sacks of the most varied forms with a solid frame of plaited palm or sometimes of wood; small objects are put away in them: 422 jewels, perfumes, remedies, etc. All of these sacks are 414 generally closed with the famous Tuareg padlock, only a token lock, but always respected.

492 Rich women possess a special saddle called "akhaoui" or "takhaouit" according to its size, kept in a corner of the tent. It is an extremely curious assemblage of three types of wood (tehounek, rose laurel, tabrakat), each piece of which is chosen according to its use, shaped, cut, and decorated. The different pieces of the takhaouit are bound together with leather; it takes years to bring together branches that can be used, this work being almost always done by the women. The "haïf" is a strap /96/ that secures the saddle to the back of the camel; plaited in goat's hair, it measures five centimeters wide and three meters long; one end is adorned with an enormous pompon 50 centimeters wide and sometimes weighing more than three kilograms; embroidery in red and green wool gives a sumptuous air to the pendant, which reaches nearly to the ground when the haïf secures the saddle.

A richly decorated takhaouit has other pompons symmetrical to the haïf; these are the "tidarsiouin."

352 The feminine rug par excellence, which covers the tarraouit during a trip, comes from Timmimoun and is called "tagamdafest"; it has large black, red, and green bands, and, in the middle of it, tufts of yellow, black, and green wool.

Let us add to the objects belonging to the woman the 415 "sendouq," a kind of small box in which sugar and tea are kept; the name, of Arabic origin, seems to indicate that it is of relatively recent importation. The "tesenit" is a palm-fiber basket in which kitchen utensils are kept.

492 /96 cont./ The man, when he is elegantly turned out -- and all the Tuareg want to be elegant when on camel back -- has a "djebira" (a large sack made in the Sudan) with splendid decorations in leather, dominated by whites and delicate greens. To save wear and tear on the decorations, the djebira is always carried inside out, but is turned right again upon approaching a camp.

The linen is put in a large dyed-leather bag decorated with lines: the "echchekoua," which is padlocked. The "tchekouat" ("dabia" in Arabic) is smaller, the "tesoufra" holds milk and is not decorated, for the dyes are not fast to moisture. Tea and sugar are kept in small sacks called "etfadoul."

The "tarik" ("rahla" in Arabic) adorns the corner of the tent reserved for the man. The camel saddle is well known; there are several types: the "tamzak," made in the Sudan and the most prized by the Tuareg, is ornamented with designs in green leather and has a characteristic cantle, the back of which is fixed with a whole system of metalwork. The "akoka" is also a good tarik, respectable enough to ride on; its black /97/ and red colors make it more subdued; it is also supposed to be sturdier. The "talast" has no cross in front; it is made of decorated wood and is very solid; it is suitable for training the animals, but an elegant man does not use it for traveling. In order to protect the camel, the tarik is placed on two or three small square rugs, the "sadfar," measuring about 50 centimeters; they have bands of blue and white cloth forming geometric motifs; they are lightly padded with old cloth.

To adorn the camel, the Tuareg place a rug called "taouart" on the seat of the saddle; the rug comes from either Fezzan or Ghardaïa. The saddle girth (half) is as heavy as possible. The "rezama" (Arabic) ("tarant" in Tamashek), which is used to guide the animal, is made of plaited leather ornamented with colored thongs; it is said that a tarant made from hyena hide makes the animal go faster.

[825]

492 /97 cont./ For he who wants a particularly well-equipped animal, there is the "cascabou," a sort of copper fitting with pendants and little bells which is fixed on the camel's nose, giving the beast a proud appearance and classifying the owner.

The things owned in common consist of, first, the "abaïor" used as water containers; these guerbas are made of goatskin or sheepskin. The "tamhit" ("mezoued" in Arabic) are used to carry grain. Butter is made in the "edjiouer."

415 We already know the use of the tendi /mortar/ and the pestle (iharen). Fixed or turning millstones called "tahount" are used near the agricultural centers.

The "terahout" is the hemispheric dish; there are several sizes. The "tesoukalin" are the small spoons; the large ones, often pyrograved, are called "temoulalt." The metal or baked-earth pot is called the "terrirt." Everything used for making tea has an Arabic name: the kettle (ralleye), the teapot (bered), the glasses (el kissan), and the tray (el tabla). The trivet is called "isseguida."

/98/ Clothing

291 The grand bearing of the Tuareg, which so impresses the visitor arriving in the Ahaggar for the first time, is largely due to the clothes he wears. The silhouette of the "men of the veil" becomes familiar. The fullness of the clothes and the lightness of the cloth, which favors harmonious drapings, seem to exaggerate the size of both the men and the women. European traders who give free rein to their imaginations are numerous; they speak of blue phantoms and indulge in comparisons as unreal as they are evocative. Here we must strip the Tuareg of this poetic aureole. Let us begin by the trousers, called "iqarbi" ("sarroil" in Arabic). Very full and not creased, the iqarbi has a hem at the waist which permits use of a plaited leather belt called "tamenalt"; there is no pocket. To make it, cloth 1.50 meters long by 1.40 meters wide is used. It is often made of black sateen or chegga.

412 /182 cont./ For the harratin, the maalmines make the hoe called aguelhim and the gheniet, which is a trap for wild sheep.

412 The Tuareg use wooden objects made by the maalmines;
415 these are mainly cooking utensils.

Akous: bowl for drinking milk. It often has small ears for easier gripping.

Azzka: is a very large akous capable of holding nearly six liters.

Tarahout: large, almost hemispherical dish, carved out in one piece. The wood is three centimeters thick. It is used for family meals.

/183/ Tarelalt: large dish with a fairly flat bottom; may be as large as one meter in diameter (rare).

Tendi: the wooden mortar.

Iharen: the wooden pestle.

Akabar: small mortar, sometimes pyrographed.

Tesoukalt: pyrographed wooden spoon.

Temoulalt: large pyrographed spoon (ladle).

Asseguefi: small wooden funnel.

Redjeredjaten: stakes for holding up the tent.

Tidjetouin: stakes with ornamented heads for holding the tent open.

● 412 Tarik (rahla in Arabic): the camel saddle. The maalmines of the Ahaggar repair them but do not make them; the most handsome ones come from the Aïr; these are the ones called tamazak and the akoka. However, the maalmines of the Ahaggar make a wholly wooden saddle called talst, sturdy and used mainly for training the animals.

301 The principal jewelry worked in the Ahaggar is the following:

Tisak: the ring, of silver. Certain models have the lower part made of iron. The height of the rings is impressive: four to five centimeters; they entirely cover the lower part of the women's fingers, setting off the length and delicacy of their hands.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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3a. Position of the Tuareg meharist.

[p. 186] [left - see p. 187]

• 492

3b.

[p. 187] [Right-see p. 186]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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34. Type of saddle (taiast) with its girth (aïf).

[p. 222]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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42. Camel trail. Boubaker gives the Issalen (the news).

[p. 230]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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43. A stop.

[p. 231]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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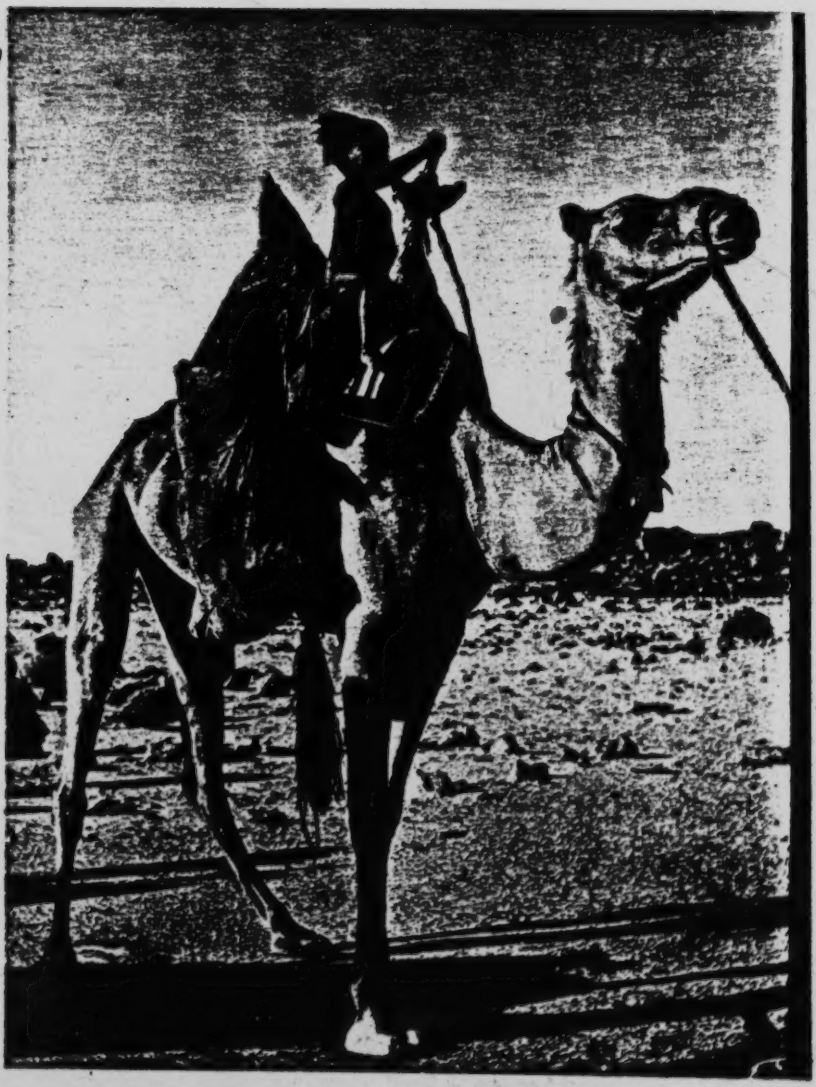

44. An infant Targui plays among the Dag Rali.

[p. 232]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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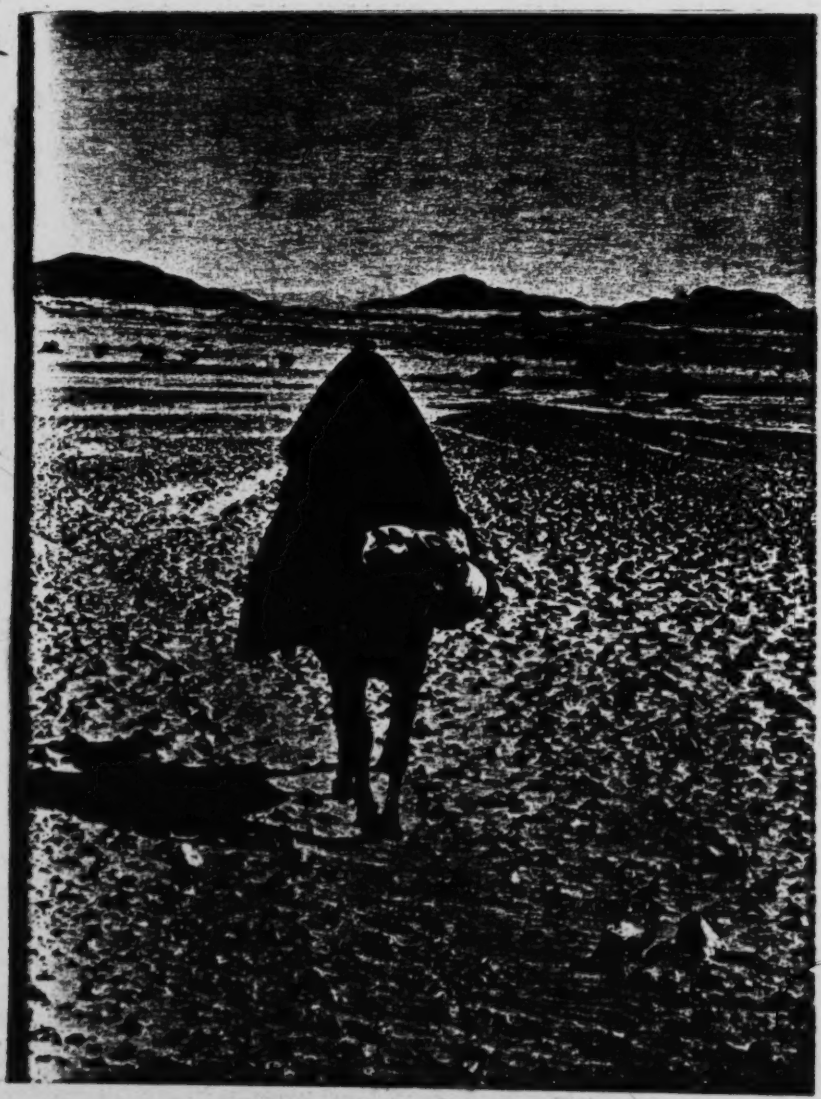

47. Woman leaving for a visit.

[P. 235]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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49. Waiting at a rendezvous.

[p. 237]

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[For additional information about animal transport, especially camel-riding and riding-gear, see category 116, pp. 67-113.]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

These terms are used frequently in discussions of prices. Thus a blacksmith will claim that the price of an axe is *ebuleg* (*adawal*) while for the manufacture of smaller objects or for certain repairs he will only claim *uzzif* or *ḍreyd*.

By the combination of age and colour terms, if necessary with the addition of a covering to certain other characteristics, the Tuareg are able to describe the exact appearance of any animal. Goat-terms have a practical value in enabling the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. A few of the terms indicating colour and other characteristics in Ahaggar are mentioned below:—

Characteristics	*Female*	*Male*
Black animal	*taseṭṭefut*	*aseṭṭefu*
Red animal	*téżeggeḳ*	*éżegger*
Black animal with a red belly	*takahamit*	*akahami*
Animal white on the hind part, and black on the fore-part of the body	*téǧehé*	(No term for males which never have this combination of colours)
Black animal with white colour on the lower part of the legs	*taẓeburt*	*aẓbur*
Black animal with a white blaze (Foucauld, 1951–52, III p. 1194 f., states that this term is used for horses, donkeys, camels, and oxen, but he does not mention goats and sheep)	*tamulast*	*amulas*
Black animal with white colour on the ears	*tahreyt*	*ahrey*
Animal of any colour having very small ears	*taderṃak*	*aderṃaǧ*
Animal of any colour having no horns	*tabiyawit*	*abiyawi*

Fig. 16. A flock of southern, short-haired goats during migration. The woman seen in the middle of the picture rides an ox loaded with arches of a barrel-vaulted mat tent. From Demergue south of Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

food or to sell them when they are five years old. Many rams are killed or sold at a younger age, and male lambs are frequently killed when half-grown, but the Tuareg do not kill very young lambs. 233*

It is well known from literature that pastoralists of Tibet use sheep as beasts of burden (several authorities; cf. Bell 1928, p. 116; Hermanns 1949, p. 84). Among the Tuareg sheep are not used for this purpose, but I have seen herdsmen attach their empty water bags to the belly of rams, which are very tall, strong animals. [492]

CATTLE

The oldest African cattle is believed to have been a type of the *Bos primigenius* breed characterized by comparatively long horns. This breed was known in Ancient Egypt, and also in Prehistoric Sahara, where its former existence is documented by numerous rock engravings (cf. Monod 1932; Gautier 1908; Lhote 1955a, 1958; Erman 1922; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 142 f.). It seems as if cattle of this particular type was found in parts of North Africa even in antiquity (Bates 1914, p. 95 f.), and we can adequately quote Faulkner & Epstein on the former distribution of humpless longhorn cattle in the north: "All along the shores of the Mediterranean, from Palestine through Egypt to North West Africa, and from Asia Minor through the Balkans to the Appenine and Iberian peninsulas, an ancient stratum of longhorn cattle can be traced, extending to the north and south as far as Mediterranean man or his culture spread" (Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 143). *Bos primigenius* cattle are still found in certain parts of Africa. It is known in isolated regions of the Western Sudan – notably in Guinea and Liberia (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 79 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 87 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 118 ff.). It is perhaps this breed to which Maqrizi refers in his description of the Beja (Maqrizi, p. 561). The very special thick-horned Lake Tchad breed is probably to be considered a *Bos primigenius* type (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 88 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, 233* 174 233* 171

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Fig. 26. Young ram of the hairy *Ovis longipes* breed. Ahaggar.

[text continues on p. 49]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 27. Zebu ox of the long-horned Fulani breed. Ayr, Agadez.

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Fig. 28. *Harṭani* boy riding a young ox. Ahaggar, Tamanṛaset.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johst, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259).

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawaɣ* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo, or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species:— *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *téšengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr.

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*tazerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar.

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period.

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen.

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135).

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellut*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaramen* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

CAMELS

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Camels are very important domestic animals in all Tuareg groups, and they also play a great part in the subsistence of most Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The common Arab camel breed, which is known to the Tuareg as *marroki*, is also found in Northern Tuareg country – particularly among the *Kel Ajjer*. It is heavily built and is extremely well fitted for transportation. It is a very strong breed in spite of its relatively low stature, and it has large feet which is considered an eminent quality for pack camels. This *marroki* camel has a thick cover of wool on the hump and on the [illegible] part of the body, while Tuareg camels, which are of higher stature and more elegantly built, in general have little or no wool, but only a short coat of hair much like that of cows and horses. Tuareg camels may have long hairs around the hump but true Tuareg camels have no proper coat of wool. Though the *marroki* breed is excellent for transportation and is considered a better milch-animal than the southern Tuareg breed, the Tuareg generally prefer their own elegantly built camels, and they look down upon the heavily built camels of the north. However, as mentioned, there are some *marroki*

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Fig. 33. Tuareg with riding camels. Ahaggar, the *Ajuh-en-tekki* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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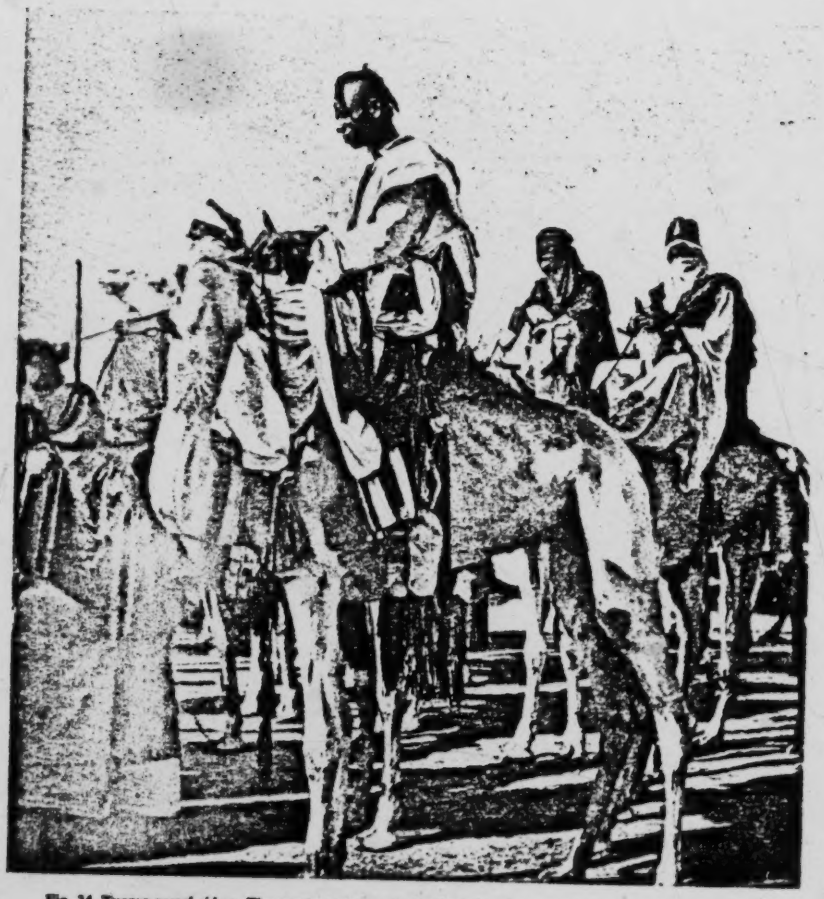

Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders. The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Sahara, but I was told among *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 43. Riding camel with *ikembar*, that is scars from cuts on the bridge of the nose and a hanging patch of skin under the chin. An ornamented leather rein (*tarani*, or *trézem*) is fastened to the copper ring (*tigemt*, or *tigemi*) of the right nostril. The camel's colour name is *aberog*. It was my own riding camel – a precious gift from Professor Daryll Forde of the University College London. – Ayr.

262 if they had to eat the meat of camels. I have also been told that all members of certain tribes (e.g.,
261 the *Ikezkezen*) will refuse to eat any food served in a receptacle which has once contained camel's meat.

262 I have never heard about Tuareg in the two northern groups who would not eat camel's meat, though most Tuareg in the north consider meat of sheep and goats superior to camel's meat. People of all tribes in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer will eat it, and there seems to be a certain prestige attached

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and drink the blood (cf. p. 235). In situations of great distress they may also kill their camels in order to obtain the water supply conserved in the animal's stomach.

(3) Treatment by burning. Wounds are cauterized by means of a redhot iron known as *tamak* (Ayr), or *taterkemt* (Ahaggar). Burning with a redhot iron is also practised for camels with swollen feet as already described (p. 121). It is also common to burn a line around wounds or other sites of disease in order that it shall not spread, and burning is even practised for internal diseases, as is the case with the *toza*-disease of camels (p. 121). Redhot irons are, on the whole, used particularly for camels. Wounds of sheep and goats, e.g., wounds from jackal bites, are cauterized by means of glowing camel dung. Certain stomach diseases, such as types of tympanites, are cured by a bunch of flaming grass swept under the animal's belly. I have seen this practised with donkeys which, like horses, may suffer from a kind of tympanites known in Ahaggar as *tahagd*.

(4) Instruments and bandages. Enema should be mentioned under this heading. It is known in Ahaggar as *sebeğiwen*, and is applied to humans and to animals by means of a funnel or by a special apparatus made from a piece of hollow cane connected with a skin-bag. I never had the opportunity to see this apparatus, which is depicted by Lhote who also gives some information about the use of enemas with human beings (Lhote 1955a, p. 303, Fig. 36). He mentions that an enema is also given by a mother to her little children by blowing water into the anus with her mouth. I have seen this done to children in Ahaggar, but I do not know whether this method is practised with animals also. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the Tuareg apply wooden splints to their domestic animals with broken legs. I have seen this device only in Ahaggar where wooden splints are known as *tifesasin* (sing. *tafasast*). They are used for sheep and goats (Fig. 92), and, by the sedentary agriculturists, also for cows. The wooden splints applied to goats are sometimes replaced by a leather bandage solidly tied around the broken leg. I mention under this heading that camels bred and born in stony or mountainous countries cannot always stand the long journeys through plain and sandy deserts. Their feet suffer

Fig. 93. Tuareg bleeding a camel at the place of the neck vein known as *abayoy*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 94. Tuareg operating a camel's foreleg with a knife. Northern Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé*.

492 from the constant friction against the sand, and it may become necessary to provide the animals with leather shoes, that is pieces of ox-skin sewn around the hoofs. These leather shoes are known to [113] the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tissal* (sing. *tasselt*). Their appearance is excellently depicted by Lhote (Lhote 1951b, photographs p. 224).

232 824 (5) Medical treatment which forms an important part of Tuareg veterinary knowledge. I have mentioned in the description of camel diseases the use of certain plants for the external treatment of scabies. The Tuareg also use various plants for drugs. Seeds of certain annual plants are mixed with milk and given to goats and sheep which suffer from stomach-diseases. Leaves of various plants are also considered laxatives. The Tuareg know many drugs made from wild plants, and they are aware that there are several wild plants that are dangerous to domestic animals. A very dangerous venomous plant is *élel* (*Nerium oleander*) which is extremely common in the higher parts of Ahaggar. It contains a kind of strychnine, and camels which eat *Nerium* leaves will die from this poison. The Tuareg say that camels bred and born in Ahaggar know the plant to be dangerous. These camels do not eat the *Nerium* leaves but others introduced to Ahaggar from the south may do so. To prevent camels from eating *Nerium* leaves the Tuareg put a leaf of the plant into their nostrils, or burn *Nerium* leaves so that the smoke and the scent of the plant enter the animal's nostrils. In this way camels come to loathe it. There are, according to Foucauld, other venomous plants in Ahaggar, e.g. *awrhed* (*Perralderia coronopifolia*), *arenked* (*Leptadenia heterophylla*, and/or *Cocculus pendulus*) which are fatal to goats and sheep (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1524 & IV, p. 1647; Maire 1933, p. 230, 236). The species [682] known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*) is very venomous for human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*233 192 [492] [171] I have referred to the use of such signals above in connection with goat-breeding, and I have mentioned that goats will respond to signals and also to names more willingly than other domestic animals with the exception of dogs. Some of the signals used in Ayr and Ahaggar differ, and it is interesting that the Tuareg of these regions use different sounds to accelerate the speed of riding camels. The riders in Ahaggar use the same signal as the Arabs – a gutturally pronounced *ha* – while the Ayr Tuareg use a rolling sound *wr*. The signal used by the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden* is *ut*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

462 231 [492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Eerwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

224 291 516 412

Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taytoq* tribe.

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[22] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanrasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[661] *Ikechcheman*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[525] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalra*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
245 bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
[22] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[492] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

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temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily.

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Taṛhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Taṛhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

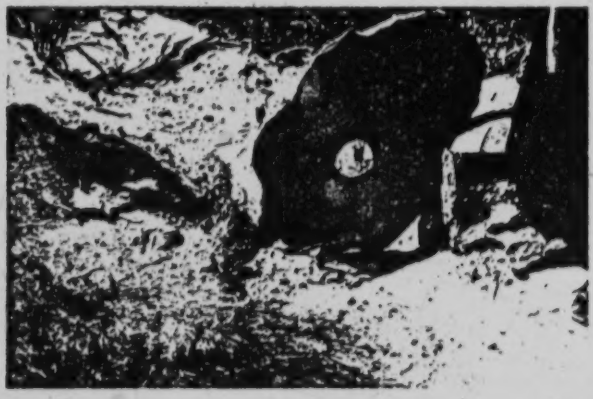

Fig. 134. The flat stone (*amelil*) inserted between the water basin (*tihenu*) and the canal (*tefukanu*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appearance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*arelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*tisiral*).

Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* = sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

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Fig. 147. Tuareg caravan in the barren desert between Ahnet and Ahaggar. The *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

TUAREG CARAVANS

Fig. 148. Caravan crossing the flooded river bed of Oued Dabega in Southern Ayr. *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

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caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use. But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large, for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few households also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamahaq*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle-types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

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492 [177] The large saddles for women (*akhawi*, *tkhawit*, *aragen*) (p. 88 f.) were most probably introduced by Arab pastoralists. These saddles are not known among all Tuareg. In the Northern Tuareg groups they are used in the noble class (*Ihaggaren*), in the *Isekkemaren* class, which seems to have relationship with Arabs (p. 10, 398 f.), and in the *Iregenaten* tribe which lives in Tamesna though it belongs to the group of Ahaggar Tuareg. Its members claim to descend patrilineally from Arabs, matrineally from noble Tuareg. Large women's saddles are also found among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and there is a saddle of the *akhawi* type from this group in the ethnographical collection of the Neuchâtel Museum (no. 49.2.35). Women's saddles are also common among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. They are described by Nicolas who mentions two types. One named *tahawit* is perhaps constructionally different from the saddles of the north, while the other type termed *aruku* is constructionally related to riding saddles in Ahaggar, but is without the large wooden side-arches characteristic of certain northern saddles. However, saddles having arches like this are found among the *Deremchaka* Arabs who live in *Kel Dennek* territory (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47a & e, pl. X p. 177). Light women's saddles resembling the Ahaggar *tkhawit* saddle without side-arches and known as *akhawi* was seen in the camp of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* Tuareg near Ayoru. Here I was told that the wooden structure is always manufactured by blacksmiths while its cover of ochre-coloured leather is made by Tuareg women who also make the little *afezu* mat placed over the structure and serving for seat. Such saddles [565] are found only in noble tribes of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, never among vassals. Women's saddles are unknown in Ayr where the Tuareg build a riding saddle upon large cushions (cf. p. 90), and they are apparently also unknown among the *Kel Geres*. The Ayr Tuareg speak of riding saddles known as *akhawi* or *tkhawit* as "Arab saddles", and these terms are also derived from Arabic. Lhote states that he has not seen the richly-decorated saddles known as *akhawi* outside of Ahaggar (Lhote 1947a, p. 142). Thus it seems that proper women's saddles have a limited distribution among the Tuareg. They occur mainly in certain classes of the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and the *Iwllemmeden*. 492 171 In these areas they are apparently also used by Arabs. Somewhat related women's saddles are found among the Tebu. These saddles are described by Le Coeur who states that they are normally bought in Kanem (Le Coeur 1950, p. 60, 126). I think that this may perhaps indicate their origin as this region and adjacent parts of the Lake Tchad plains have a population of pastoralists of Arab descent. Various types of women's saddles occur among all Arab pastoralists of North Africa and the Arab peninsula – possibly with the exception of certain bedouin tribes of South-eastern Arabia. I do not know whether these saddles occur among the Beja, the Danakil, and the Somali. They are not mentioned in the literature I have consulted.

492 The pack saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* (p. 76, Fig. 57) is not very common among the Northern Tuareg. It is unknown among the *Kel Ayr* and so far as I know also among the *Kel Geres*. It seems to be unknown also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* where the same structure is used as a women's saddle as mentioned above (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47e). I do not know if this saddle type occurs 492 171 in other Tuareg groups. It is found in the Lake Tchad region and Chudeau considers it typical of the sahelian zone (Chudeau 1909, p. 206; Capot-Rey 1946, p. 163). It is also mentioned by Nachtigal as the typical type of saddle of the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while the Tebu saddle described by Le Coeur and now preserved in the Musée de l'homme (no. 32.50.4) is slightly different from the

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saddle depicted by Nachtigal the fore and the aft trees being connected by two horizontal or oblique sticks instead of two crossed sticks at each side (Le Coeur 1950, p. 175). This saddle type is also depicted from the Tebu by Moberg and Fuchs (Moberg 1953, p. 192; Fuchs 1961, p. 39), and I have myself seen a saddle like this among camel-owning Fulani at Niamey on the Niger. A related saddle type with fore and aft trees at each side connected with two horizontal sticks, is depicted by Heuglin from North-east Africa (Heuglin 1877, I, p. 26). It is perhaps the common saddle type in and around the Beja country.

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The saddle corresponding to the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type of the Northern Tuareg is known by the Arabic word *hasur* among the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while among the Arabs of North Africa the word *hasur* is generally used for women's saddles of the same fundamental construction. Pack saddles of *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are known to the Arabs of Algeria as *herej*. However, such saddles do not seem to be common among Arabs of Algeria, where I have never seen them, though they are probably used by Arabs of Upper Egypt and in Sinai (cf. Murray 1935, p. 116).

In Arabia saddles constructionally resembling the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are extremely common. They are used as pack-saddles and also for riding. There seem to be three distinct Arabic names for them:—. (1) a sadle known as *sdad* (or *shadad*) and characterized by particularly high pommels; it is used mainly as a riding saddle (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 35 ff., Fig. 9–11; Musil 1928b, p. 350 ff., Figs. 37, 44; Euting 1906, p. 394 ff., ill. p. 393, 397; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (2) a saddle known as *misame* constructionally of the same type, but having no high pommels; it is very much like the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type described from the Northern Tuareg (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 61 f., Fig. 23; Musil 1928b, p. 354, Fig. 41; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (3) a saddle known as *rabit* of very much the same type as the *misame* saddle but of a somewhat heavier construction (cf. Musil 1928b, p. 354; Euting 1906, p. 398, ill. p. 394). The two last mentioned saddles are mainly pack-saddles but they are also used for riding. The distribution of the saddle types *sdad*, *misame* or *rabit* in Arabia seems to be as follows:—

The Syrian Desert; the tribes *Sba'a* and *Rawala* (cf. Boucheman 1934 & Musil 1928b quoted above).
Hedjaz; *sdad* (Musil 1926, Figs. 30, 84, 85, etc.).
Negd; *sdad* (Musil 1928a, Figs. 8, 22, 28, 62, 63); *misame* or *rabit* (Musil 1928a, Fig. 15).
Irak; *sdad* (Musil 1927b, Figs. 1, 19, 33, etc.).
Kuweit; *misame* or *rabit* (Raunkiær 1913, Fig. 21; Dickson 1949 quoted above).
South Arabia; *sdad*; the tribes of *Murra*, *Sa'ar*, and *Harab*. Riding saddles of the *sdad* type are not found east of Dhufar (Thomas 1932, p. 268).

It would appear that a riding saddle of the *sdad* type is depicted in a 9th century B.C. relief at Tell Halaf (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2, pl. I Fig. 2).

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The common pack-saddle among the Northern Tuareg is the *ékaki* (cf. p. 74 f., Fig. 55). This saddle type, as mentioned, is not made by the Tuareg themselves, but normally by sedentary *Harratin* of Tidikelt where palm material is abundant, more rarely by blacksmiths who make the construction of wood, and not from the ribs of date palms. The *ékaki* is the common saddle type all

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The élaki is the common saddle type all

over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *ḥawiyya*, the word also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Sba'a* and *Rawala*) (Boucheman 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Negd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *ḥedâǧe*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *ḥedâǧe* or *ḥawiyya* is not mentioned from Kuweit by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al fulani*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al fulani* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe* type the more so because riding saddles for camels and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory that the riding saddle of *al fulani* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.180.80), from the Regcibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Ida w Aich* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 92).

Saddles of the *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe* type (*élaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *awaki*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fitted each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of them consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

The *élaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥeddāǧe*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137).

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555).

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b). These bags are known as *tirrar* (sing. *térerirt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tihdaḍ* (sing. *téheḍiṭ*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711).

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula.

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce.

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these

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Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of bleeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24).

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. 145).

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples.

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tamzak* and *tekokeyt*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg.

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iwllemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarkī* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps

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492 171 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 174 114 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the exsistence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928,, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

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Songhai MS20

Fig. 266. Three mat tents, three heavy wooden beds, and the household utensils belonging to three households are moved by means of six donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

from the north from very ancient times (cf. p. 412), and, according to Rouch, we find that mat-covered barrel-vaulted huts do not constitute the traditional type of dwelling of all Sonray, but are found along the Niger between Timbuktu and Asongo, while the Sonray living outside of this area have other dwelling types (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). Thus we see that Sonray mat-covered arched dwellings are found precisely within the area which has been most strongly influenced by Tuareg culture, namely the upper part of the Niger Bend. It can be added that such dwellings do not seem to be typical of other African peoples who lead a predominantly sedentary life. Furthermore, Sonray mat-covered barrel-vaulted dwellings are built by the women, who are also the true owners of the huts (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). In this we find another parallel to traditional Tuareg custom.

We see again how wrong it is to speak of the Ayr Tuareg mat tent as a dwelling particular to the *Kel Ewey*, for such mat-covered tents are used by most Ayr Tuareg from the northern outskirts of the Massif to Damergu; it is said to be used exclusively by the *Kel Geres*; it is known among certain *Kel Demek*, among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* and their *Bélla*, and apparently even in the southernmost parts of the *Kel Adrar* country. Arched mat tents on the southern outskirts of the very vast area inhabited by Tuareg occur in an almost unbroken line in a huge semicircle running from Northern Ayr to Timbuktu.

This distribution may perhaps indicate that the mat tent is of very ancient standing among the Tuareg. We have mentioned above that the mat-covered arched dwellings of the Sonray may have been adopted by these people through contact with the Tuareg, and it does not seem as if the latter adopted their arched mat tents as a result of contact with other Sudanese peoples who use barrel-vaulted dwellings. Barrel-vaulted dwellings are not common in the Western Sudan, but are found among certain pastoralists whose arched huts and tents are structurally very different from the barrel-vaulted Tuareg mat tent. This appears from literature about the *Fulani* and the *Toucouleurs* (cf. Urvoy

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1952, pl. II, 4; Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396). Various pastoralists within the huge area of Tibesti, Borku, and Ennedi also use barrel-vaulted mat-covered tents. These are very different from Tuareg mat tents (cf. Biassuti 1933, Fig. 2, p. 173; Despois 1946, pl. XXII; Le Coeur 1937, p. 39 & 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99; Schiffers 1957, pl. IV; Kronenberg 1959, pl. III; Fuchs 1961, p. 18 ff., pl. IV). However, a mat tent described in detail by Chapelle has a structure which includes pronged sticks and horizontal bars (Chapelle 1957, p. 227 ff.), and a Tebu tent from Bilma now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey resembles the mat-covered Ayr tent in having two horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides – each bar resting upon seven vertical pronged sticks.

We presume that Tuareg mat tents constitute a very ancient and traditional type of dwelling, which, perhaps, was originally covered with mats of grass-stems (cf. p. 350 f.). We venture to advance this theory, the more so as other types of Tuareg tents less elaborate in their structures show very close affinities with the arched mat tent. Our theory, however, gives rise to one important question:— Is the elaborate structure of Tuareg mat tents well fitted to pastoral life?

It is evident that some of the Tuareg, who live in mat tents, and notably the *Bélla*, are semi-nomads, and Capot-Rey says that "– – les populations qui l'ont adoptée ne se deplacent presque plus; – –" (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 222). This is not correct. Mat tents like that described in B.I.a. are used by true nomads, who move much during the rainy season to find the best annual pasture for their domestic animals. At that season many pastoralists move their camps of barrel-vaulted tents about once a week, and though some of them prefer to erect their tents according to the simple *tafala* method (cf. B.I.f., p. 356), most nomads will erect the tent in the ordinary fashion. It may be added that even the *Kel Geres* who come to Southern Ayr at the end of the rains have with them their mat tents which they erect correctly. There are, it is true, many Tuareg possessing mat tents who remain almost on the same spot throughout the year, but this is equally true of many Tuareg with skin tents. The mat tent is a true pastoral dwelling type. It is not very difficult to put up though it takes more time than does the erection of most skin tents. It is also not very difficult to transport the comparatively elaborate structure of normal mat tents. With few exceptions the pastoral *Kel Ayr* who live in and around the Massif use donkeys for tent transportation. The light tent mats are simply used as a kind of pack-saddle, being rolled up and placed over the back and along both sides of the pack-animal. The curved boughs and rods which form arches and semi-arches, and the comparatively few vertical sticks with the two cross-bars are tied up into parcels which are fastened over the mats at the animal's sides. I have frequently seen a tent, together with the very heavy wooden bed (*tédabut*) and various domestic utensils, being transported by two donkeys, and a normal tent can be transported by a single donkey without much difficulty. As a further indication of this I produce a photograph showing the movement of a camp comprising three ordinary tents, three wooden beds, and the necessary household implements and provisions, and it will be seen that all this is transported by six donkeys (cf. Fig. 266). On the whole, an ordinary mat tent is neither very difficult to erect, nor difficult to transport. It is more difficult to erect the mat tent than the skin tent, but skin tents very often constitute a heavier burden. The sheet of skin, or more correctly leather, is heavier than the covering of mats, and though it is true of many skin tents that they have a less elaborate structure than the mat tents, the former need a system of pegs and poles to fasten the sheet, and these have to be transported except where

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[178] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imrad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imrad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,